Ottoman Empire was still operating as a world-empire and could hardly have been fully incorporated into the capitalist world-economy. One of Kasaba's most interestingdiscussions concerns the reversals of fortune of çiftlik owners between 1750 and 1820, precisely the period during which Wallerstein had argued for the expansion of çiftliks. Overall, Kasaba's most recent work does not support peripheralization of the Ottoman Empire within the capitalist world-economy in the nineteenth century. In contrast, Pamuk has argued in favor of a two-phase incorporation in the nineteenth century based on fiscal rather than commercial evidence.

Conclusion

I have argued that current scholarship does not support Wallerstein's interpretation of incorporation of the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world- economy between 1750 and 1839. The most conclusive evidence against Wallerstein centers on land tenure in the second half of the eighteenth century and the state of Ottoman manufacturing in the first half of the nineteenth century. His argument that ashift in the nature of trade from luxury goods to raw materials in the late eighteenth century, associated with changes in land tenure that led to formations of çiftliks basedon coerced labor, does not hold up to scrutiny. His claim that the 1838 Anglo-TurkishTrade Convention was imposed by Britain and led to a collapse of manufacturing hasalso been refuted by recent archival research.

Wallerstein needs to find new evidence before he can claim that the Ottoman Empirewas incorporated into the capitalist world-system between 1750 and 1839, or indeed at any other time. A serious attempt to include the notion of culture, ideas, or communications (in other words, humankind) into world-system theory would surelybe rewarding.

Economic
Factors Political
Factors

The Identity of Black Women in the Post-Bellum Period1865-1885

Carl Greenfeld

Throughout history, the black woman has always had a multitude of responsibilities thrust upon her shoulders. This was never truer than for southern black women in the period between 1865 and 1885. In this span of twenty years, these women were responsible for their children, their husbands, supporting their families, their fight forfreedom as black citizens and as women, their sexual freedom, and various other issues that impacted their lives. All of these aspects of the black woman's life definedwho she was. Each of her experiences and battles shaped the life that she lived, and the way she was perceived by the outside world.

Who were these women, and how did the experiences in their life shape who they were? This essay will argue that these women's identities can be surmised by the wayin which they handled the different responsibilities and experiences that they were exposed to in the aftermath of slavery. These responsibilities and experiences formedwho they were; only by looking at the identities of these women can their lives be studied and explored. In this essay the southern black woman's occupational identity,sexual identity, family identity, and gender identity will be examined. There are, of course, many more specific aspects of these women's identity, but these are the ones that furnish the clearest and most specific view of what these women were about. It isthrough these four aspects of the southern black women's identity a picture of them can be drawn. One will be able to recognize the hardships they overcame and the effort they put forth in order to be seen as citizens of the United States of America.

Occupational Identity

In the period after the Civil War, work was very important to the southern black woman; she was free for the first time and wanted to assert her freedom and independence. One of the first things that the black woman attempted, after gaining her freedom, was to obtain a job. These women learned quickly, however, that they would not be equals just because they were now free. The job opportunities available to black women, like many other aspects of their lives, would be of much less quality than the jobs offered to the rest of the population. They would be low paying, involve extended hours, and would put them in constant danger; "black women would have tonegotiate the literal rough terrain of Atlanta and the social consequences it imposed ontheir everyday lives as they struggled to earn a living for their families and searched for peace of mind." They would have to persevere in their quest to work and support their household.

After the Civil War, all black citizens of the Unites States were allegedly free. The thirteenth amendment banning slavery had been passed and the reconstruction of the South was moving along swiftly. This promised freedom, however, was far from whatwas expected. There were many laws and forces at work to keep blacks in some type of involuntary servitude. Some of the laws that limited black freedom included making it a crime to hire away a worker who had been under contract with a different employer (so called enticement laws), various contract-enforcement statutes that bound the black worker to their employer, and vagrancy statutes in which unemployedblacks were arrested and later forced to work for an employer. These laws operated to deny both black men and black women the ability to search for work or change employers. If a black citizen could not furnish proof of work, he or she could be arrested and later forced to sign a contract with an employer. If a black citizen attempted to change jobs, he or she would be forced into the service of their former employers.

The government of the South was not the only entity that attempted to keep black women from having the freedom to obtain employment. Opposition also came from "white vigilantes, planters, mistresses and overseers, all anxious for the return of a reliable and subordinate labor force." These opposition forces worked closely with thesouthern government, inflicted torture upon blacks living in the South, made sure that the compensation of both black men and black women would be kept at a dishonorable level, and did everything within their power to make the lives and working experiences of the newly freed black women as uncomfortable as possible.
The atmosphere was one in which "organized sexual-assault raids against black women were especially common in rural areas where terrorist groups like the [Ku Klux Klan] thrived." The Ku Klux Klan was one of many organizations that attemptedto put blacks, and more specifically black women, in their place. These groups thrivedon terror to scare, silence, and subordinate these women. Terror was a tremendous incentive for many black citizens to work at the jobs they were told to work at, and to not question their wages or working conditions.

The various terrorist groups and laws that attempted to restrict the black woman's freedom were not the only barriers set up against her. These restrictions and groups were supplemented by the difficulties that black women had in gaining employment,being offered a salary that was close to that of black men, actually obtaining the wages that they had worked for, and being treated as workers and humans rather thanas slaves. The employment experience was rarely a very beneficial one for the southern black woman. Women had to work lengthy hours, at a severely discounted rate, to supplement the salaries of their husbands so that their family could obtain things essential to living. This was the way of life for the black woman whose husband could not earn a sufficient income to support their family (as in most cases).

These women had no choice but to work, and they had to work under the conditionsthat were set forth by their employers.

The job opportunities available to black women in this time period were often meager and involved menial tasks. One must only look to the statistics in seven southern states in 1870. In this year, 36.4 percent of black women worked at home, 23.3 percent worked as servants, and 10.5 percent worked as laundresses. In comparison, .1percent worked in semi-skilled jobs, a negligible amount worked in skilled jobs, and
.1 percent worked as teachers. In this same year, 59.6 percent of white women workedat home, only 5.7 percent worked as servants, and .4 percent worked as laundresses.
The situation that developed was one in which southern black women worked low- skilled jobs, usually the same jobs that they had held before the end of slavery. For example, "by 1880, at least 98 percent of all black female wage-earners in Atlanta were domestics." It got to the point where "virtually every black girl-child, except forthe most affluent, knew that at some time or another she would be cleaning house forwhite folks." There were a limited amount of positions available and black women secured the ones they could get.

It would seem logical that people who worked low-skilled jobs would receive lower pay than those who worked high-skilled jobs, and these black women received these lower wages. The problem now, was that these black women did not receive wages that were comparable even to their fellow low-skilled black male workers. There weremany situations in which black men and black women who held the same occupation earned different wages. According to historian Dorothy Sterling "freedwomen were always paid less than the men. On one Georgia plantation male hands received $140 ayear, women from $60 to $85. In Adams County, Mississippi, Sarah Nelson was promised $10 a month; John, a man working alongside her received $15." Black women in this time period could not achieve equal pay for equal work; they had to be content with what they were offered.

Another problem that black women encountered during their working experience was actually receiving the wages and benefits that they felt they had earned. There were many methods used by southern employers to prevent workers from obtaining the salary they had been promised in their contracts. There were times when "employers would substitute perishables or durable goods in lieu of cash for remuneration, without the workers' consent." and other times when "women could also face deductions for behavioral infractions such as lost time and impudence, or for breakingor misplacing objects." These methods would lead to large deductions from the already low wages of the black worker, whether male or female. One specific exampleof this is the case of the Baldwin family. This family had contracted themselves out to
J.R. Thomas and were supposed to be paid salaries of $140 for David Baldwin, $85for Matty Baldwin (note the difference between the male and female salaries), and

$60 for Mariah Baldwin. On the day they were to be paid, they received $12.40,
$48.53, and $3.15 respectively. Their salaries were reduced for sickness, bad weather,going against orders, and using supplies. Black women were already making less money, but now their salaries were being reduced to almost nothing. There was little they could do about the situation. If they wanted to labor for that employer, they took the salary and benefits they were given and continued working.

The last work-related problem that southern black women had was that they were often treated as slaves rather than as free wage laborers. Often they were beaten or raped with no action being taken against their tormentors. This pattern of abuse canbest be shown in the case of Mary Long. As historian Tera Hunter recounts:

Mary Long refused to cook for her employer, Mrs. Montell, in an attempt to receive aholiday one Sunday, and an argument ensued. Long also refused to accede to her boss's command to keep quiet, which angered Mr. Montell. He stepped in and struck the cook twenty-five times with a hickory stick.

Employers still believed that their employees, many of them former slaves, were theirproperty and could be treated as such. The case was the same for incidents of rape andsexual abuse. Women were raped by their employers and humiliated beyond human comprehension. They still had to be frightened that a man, now called boss rather thanmaster, would approach them and sexually abuse or rape them. In both cases of assault and rape, there were two constants; the conditions under which they occurred were similar in slavery and in freedom, and there were few ways in which these blackwomen could redress the wrongs that had been committed against them. It would appear that the southern black female worker had nothing that could even resemble freedom.

This, however, is not true. The southern black woman did have some advantages that emerged with the advent of liberation. She might not have had considerable job opportunities, equal pay (or any pay at all), or freedom from being abused, but she was still able to gain satisfaction through gestures that would irritate her white employers and allow the black woman to regain her self-respect. These gestures wereonly possible because of the freedom that they now possessed. Eventually, "it was thefreedwomen's refusal to work as they had under slavery that planters and northern agents of Reconstruction commented on most frequently and most bitterly." Their freedom may have been limited, but it did allow these women some forms of retribution against their former proprietors. The two main gestures that were utilized by southern black women included relocating themselves and their families away from their place of employment, and withholding their services from their employers.

One of the black women's main goals after the Civil War was to proceed as far as possible from any aspects of slavery that remained. There was a "great desire to leave,to walk away from the plantation, to go in search of a place to live, away from the oldreminders of their former status." They did this by physically moving themselves and their families away from the plantations and the homes in which they worked. By moving away, these women made many of their employers upset, as the employers felt they were losing a portion of the control that they exercised over the female blackworkers. The black working woman did not care, however, and in fact,

The desire to distance themselves physically from erstwhile masters ranked high intheir priorities. In a walking city like Atlanta, cooks, maids, and child-nurses couldlive in areas that were within easy reach by foot, yet were far enough to establish autonomous lives.

This distance was very important to the black woman. It made her feel like she was areal person who had a life outside her job. She did not have to reside with her employer twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, but could instead work a full day and still go home to her family. In this way, the black woman asserted her independence, restored her self-respect, and agitated the white establishment who wanted her to be subservient and who wanted to keep her tied to the employers plantation and/or home.

The other method that southern black women used to assert their independence after the Civil War and emancipation was to withhold services from their employers. Therewere obviously certain situations when this could not be done, but the opportunity didpresent itself for women who were not forced to sign long-term employment contractsand who had no reservations about leaving without notice. The two main techniques these women practiced in order to withhold their services were to quit at any time or to go on strike. By relinquishing jobs any time they desired, these women were once again asserting their independence. Unlike in slavery, these women could depart fromtheir jobs for any reason. "African-American women decided to quit work over such grievances as low wages, long hours, ill treatment, and unpleasant tasks." There were also other benefits of relinquishing employment. Not all of these women were assuredof obtaining improved jobs, "but [quitting] was an effective strategy to deprive employers of complete power over their labor." The working black woman thus secured a measure of revenge against her white employers.

The same can be said of strikes by black women. The most famous strikes in this period were the washerwomen's strikes that occurred in Jackson, Mississippi in 1866,in Galveston, Texas in 1877, and in Atlanta, Georgia in 1881. In all of these instances,black women held a valuable commodity, their laundry skills, and used them to assert their freedom, regain their self-respect, and inflict injury upon their white employers

and families. These strikes allowed them to procure more valuable benefits, higher salaries, and compelled whites to acknowledge the importance of black citizens in their lives. In the event that strikes did not result in elevated wages or benefits, they did allow these women to stand up for themselves and force the white establishment to work more arduously. Few things could have made the striking women more jubilant then hearing that "rather than give in to the strikers' demands or burden theirhusbands' salaries, 'some of the first ladies of this city have announced themselves asready to carry their accomplishments into the kitchen.'" These black women were standing up to those who had oppressed them, and, for a change, making their employers lives more difficult.

The black woman's occupational identity in the period after the Civil War was one of frustration and reciprocation. There were many barriers preventing them from succeeding, but these women did not buckle. They used the opportunity advanced by emancipation to make their lives conform to their own wishes, to irritate the powerful white establishment, and to maintain their identities as free black women in the South.They did not give in to the pressure that was inflicted upon them, but instead used the importance of their labor to their own advantage.

Sexual
Identity
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Identity

Last Updated: 8/12/16

The Identity of Black Women in the Post-Bellum Period1865-1885

Carl

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Sexual

Identity

The black woman's sexual identity in the post-bellum period was also one that was fraught with a myriad of negatives. Much like the situation that evolved in slavery, freedwomen who worked for or were exposed to white men were often the recipientsof sexual assault and rape. The issue of sexual assault and rape towards the black woman was an important component of the white man's plan to keep them subservient. Rape is not a crime of passion, but an act of power over another. It allowed the man to have control, and thus power, over a woman. This situation developed in the reconstruction period. White males believed that they had to exhibittheir superiority and strength over black women. Like the black codes or withholding

payment, rape was a way for white society to place the black woman in a degradingand submissive position.

It should come as no surprise that black women were often the targets of sexual assault and rape. As Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson state, “a huge majority of employed black women worked in white households under the authority of and in proximity to white men, [and] they were continually exposed to sexual harassment.” The sexual abuse also did not end in the workplace. There were many situations in which white men went to the homes of freedwomen and sexually abused them. The Ku Klux Klan was one of many terrorist groups that organized raids in which white men would go into the homes of black families and rape the black women. There are also examples such as when “near Hamburg, South Carolina, five masked whites broke into Chandler Garrot’s home and raped his wife.” One other example occurred when the family of Joe Brown was tortured because he had witnessed a Klan murder. In this assault, the white men made all the women in his family, even his young children, take off all their clothes, after which they were beaten unmercifully with a piece of fishing pole. There was literally nothing that blackwomen could do to avoid these situations. They needed to work so that their families would not starve, but most of the jobs available to them involved the company of white males. They attempted to transplant themselves and their families away from the homes and plantations on which they worked, but organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and other miscellaneous vigilante groups would proceed to attack them in their own homes. The way that they reacted to these abuses, however, exhibited countless attributes of the southern black women’s strength and identity.

The black women in the South who were subjected to rape and sexual abuse had littlerecourse. Their husbands signed petitions, created organizations, and spoke out about the sexual mistreatment that the women received, but these efforts to protect them fellon deaf ears. There were even examples in which “ex-slave women…pressed chargeswith the Freedmen’s Bureau against sexual abuse by white men.” These women madean attempt to resist, but little was done on their behalf by the southern white establishment or the northern bureaucrats. Their only recourse was to complain to theauthorities and hope that something would happen, or quit their jobs and pray that no men or terrorist organizations would come to their homes with sexual intentions.
These southern black women did not just stay back and passively accept the mistreatment, but instead made efforts to tell their story to the police or leave situations that were unhealthy. These women made an effort to protect what was important in their lives. The black woman looked to her legal marriage, her children,and her friends, for inspiration in protecting herself and her loved ones from the sexual deviance of whites.

The black woman's sexual identity in the post-bellum period was one that was composed of constant fear mixed with empowerment. The very real threat of sexual abuse permeated their entire lives from their occupational experiences to their existence in their home. There was almost no escape from the southern white "predator". These women did, however, fight back. They lobbied to make their storiesknown to the authorities and the freedmen's bureau. They also strived to vacate situations that might have the potential to result in sexual mistreatment. Unlike their experience under the institution of slavery, these women did have some control over their actions and their bodies. They were in the process of reclaiming their sexual identity from pervasive southern forces.

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Last Updated: 6/20/18

The Identity of Black Women in the Post-Bellum Period1865-1885

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Family

Identity

The role of family was also very important to southern black women after the Civil War. They would no longer have to worry about their husbands or children being soldaway from them. They would no longer have to dread a situation in which their husband inhabited a different plantation than the one on which they lived. The freedom these women now had allowed them to live in a situation in which "putting marriages on a legal footing bolstered the ability of ex-slaves to keep their families together, to make decisions about labor and education, and to stay out of the unscrupulous grasp of erstwhile masters." Black women could raise a family in the manner in which they had observed free white women raising theirs. This desire for family life, however, like every other part of the freedwomen's life, did not come without hardships and great sacrifices. A complete family and the ability to provide for this family did not just appear after the flames of the Civil War had been extinguished. The black female, in most cases, needed to locate one or more of her immediate family members who had run away or been sold, and also needed to support her family in an era in which black men were paid little and black women even less.

In the aftermath of slavery, black women often did not have their complete family with them. They had husbands and children who had been sold too distant places where they might have died or married other women. These freedwomen were determined to rebuild their families. One of the first things that these women did afterslavery was attempt to locate family members who had been sold or otherwise movedaway. If there was a situation in which:

Word came through the grapevine that a daughter-sold off at ten or twelve-was working on a farm sixty miles away, her mother would begin walking and would notstop until she stood at the gate of that farm with her daughter in her arms.

These black women were willing to go anywhere and make any sacrifice to rebuild their families. They persevered for many years after the Civil War, moving around theSouth and trying to find the remnants of their families.

The black woman, however, was often not successful in rebuilding her family. The situation became one in which "the challenge for former slaves was often not so muchrebuilding families as creating them." In many cases their was nothing left or no knowledge available about the freedwoman's family. This did not stop the quest of black women, but instead made them more determined to form a family life. If they knew they could no longer be with their husbands because they had remarried, been killed, or could not be located, the women found another husband. If these women were themselves remarried, and a former husband tracked them down, they chose whom they preferred to be with; these women did whatever was necessary to put their families back together or to start new ones. As Hine and Thompson state, "The fact that African Americans were able to put their families together as well as they did is a tribute to the abiding respect for family in the culture." The success and the hard workinvolved in their endeavor to recreate their families illustrate the importance of family to the southern black woman. The black woman wanted and needed family; she used whatever means were necessary to secure the family life that she craved and that was so valuable to her. Once the freedwoman had rebuilt or recreated her family, she needed to aid in its economic support. According to Anglo-American gender roles, theman went to work to provide financially for his family and the woman took care of thehome and the children. This ideology, however, did not conform to the structure of theblack southern family in the post-bellum period. The main reason for this is that "black husbands have had lower labor income and higher unemployment than white husbands, and non-labor income for blacks has also been less than that for whites." The black husband, for the most part, did not have the financial ability to support his family while his wife stayed home. In addition to taking care of the home, raising the children, and tending to the needs of her husband, the southern black woman now had to provide for her family economically.